

USAWC STRATEGY RESEARCH PROJECT

**CHILEAN ARMED FORCES AND THEIR CAPACITY IN THE CONTEXT OF THE
INTERNATIONAL CRISES**

by

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ABSTRACT

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Globalization has effects over sovereignty of nation-states, due to the interdependence of the different interests involved. Nation-States still are main actors in the international arena within the political environment. However, other actors are becoming dominant subjects in the international environment creating a new spectrum of risks, threats and challenges.

In this new environment, it can be stated that risks and threats derived from the globalization process have different causes and effects in the countries of the region. Due to that, Chile has emphasized its sovereign right in defining their own perception of threat as well as the ways and means that could be used to face them. In this context, Chile has addressed the issue of security strategy by establishing a National Defense Policy that constitutes the main guideline and direction of the defense element of power in this area, where the military is one of the forming parts of this concept.

For this reason is necessary to determine the current capacity of the Chilean Armed Forces to act in an international crisis in a regional environment, as in the unfolding of a force in the context of peace operations. Proposing the measures that spread to develop a force for the execution of these missions.

The idea is to define the characteristics of the current international system, especially in the South American context; its challenges and the new and diverse nature of conflict, concentrating on crises. After that, to describe the function of military forces and current and future methods of employment. Finally, to propose how the Chilean Armed Forces can adjust its organization and missions to deal with crises.

CHILEAN ARMED FORCES AND THEIR CAPACITY IN THE CONTEXT OF THE INTERNATIONAL CRISES

In the current scheme of international relationships, it is no longer worthwhile to define interactions among states and other international actors in absolute terms of war and peace. Rather, troubled international relationships should be viewed as occupying some positions along a spectrum of conflict, the extremes of which are war and peace. Accordingly, some academics and diplomats are now analyzing relations among nations, even international crises, in more subtle and meaningful terms than the disjunctives war and peace.

A critical point on this spectrum is occupied by diplomatic negotiations. Diplomacy itself serves to normalize relations among nations and to lend stability to regions and the entire globe. Negotiations frequently focus on issues that left, unresolved, could jeopardize these relations. Successful negotiations pave the way to peace; unsuccessful negotiations may well lead to war; protracted and fruitless negotiations cause international tensions and often prompt all interested parties to prepare for war. In short, as nations pursue peaceful solutions to conflicts, they also often rely on the option to use military force to resolve certain kinds of conflicts. However, war is very expensive, destructive, and increasingly lethal. Winning wars comes at great cost, to say nothing of the price of losing them. Accordingly, national and global leaders constantly seek ways to avoid war. So as nations prepare for war, they are increasingly inclined to prepare to avoid war. Despite recent trends toward globalization, many of the most perplexing issues and intractable international conflicts remain regional. Likewise, in some regions, nations have devised ways to avoid war among themselves.

The nations of South America are now relying on “crisis maneuver” to avoid regional wars. This concept acknowledges that neighboring states will have conflicting national interests. Thus, through transparency, they should openly, and honestly promulgate their interests in order to identify “sore spots” – that is, conflicting interests. Through such early identification, they can quickly initiate agreement on peaceful ways of resolving these conflicts. To demonstrate their commitment to peaceful solutions, the nations have also entered into disarmament accords. Further, to demonstrate their commitment to global peace, the nations have formed coalitions to serve as peacekeepers anywhere in the world. These initiatives have served to bolster mutual trust among nations throughout the region.

The national security policies of Chile and Argentina have incorporated the concept of crisis maneuver. Under this concept, the nations agree to use their militaries as only a defensive instrument of power. This means, in effect, that the nations agree not to launch military

operations against one another. War between Chile and Argentina is thus theoretically impossible. Their militaries serve to deter war, not to prosecute it. Will this regional strategy of crisis maneuver withstand a real crisis? Time will tell.

The International System

Globalization has created a new paradigm in international relationships. National sovereignty is now longer clearly demarcated by clear geographic or latitudinal – longitudinal boundaries. More amorphous racial, ethnics and religions delineations have marked recent conflicts, often fomented by non- state actors. Further, transnational military coalitions, often operating under some kind of international authority, are now conducting wars. Yet these international organizations generally justify their roles through their capacity to prevent wars.

So new political, diplomatic, and strategic trends are challenging and emergent international system. The Cold War bipolar global order has disorder as the United States seek to define its role as sole global superpower and other nations, such as India and China, are beginning to emerge as global power. In all of this confusing welter, an international consensus seems to be emerging, based on such shared values as democracy, human rights, and an open, global economy.

This nebulous emerging consensus can best be located in the roles and activities of many transnational organizations, with widely varying authority and resources: The United Nations, the Organization of America States, the European Union, and the Arab League. Non-governmental organization are also influential: The International Monetary Fund, The World Bank, the World Trade Organization, Greenpeace, and Amnesty international. Similarly, multinational corporation like Microsoft, Sony, Toyota, and Coca Cola are helping to shape a global culture. Nations are increasingly inclined to join in to multi-state unions and agreements to further national interest and to gain collective economic advantages. So state sovereignty seems to e yielding somewhat to the pressures of globalization and tendencies of internationalism.

The post-modern revolution in technology and communications has certainly intensified the dynamics of globalization. Yet this revolution has generated some formidable now threats, that non jeopardize the future of some nation-state and mine the road to international stability.

The Crises

The ultimate international conflict is, of course, war. The ultimate war is total global war in which all available weapons are employed, without limitations. Such an unthinkable holocaust would also be the outcome of an ultimate failure of diplomacy. When war seems inevitable the

immediate pre-conflict period is often referred to as a time of “ diplomatic crisis” signalling that war is imminent. So a conflict between nations can intensify to the crisis point, as which it seems war cannot be avoided. In fact, the less dramatic term conflict is synonymous with **war** in many otherwise sharp minds. Likewise, **crisis** should not connote the inevitability of war. Crisis can be maneuvered.

The conflict: Lewis A. Coser, a scholar of conflicts, sees the potential for conflict in all social structures. Individuals and sub-groups have their own interests, which often compete with a conflict with others' interest¹. Thus modern social scientists have extended nineteenth-century Marxist concept of class warfare to all social groups. Indeed such contemporary thinkers as Manuel Fraga posit an interesting relationship between corporation and conflict: “Cooperation and Conflict are inseparable, and the some causes that make possible the former make the latter necessary².”. This conflict is regarded as both social and human universal reality³. But humans also have the capability. Perhaps the obligation, to resolve conflicts.

The International Conflict: Chile's national strategy directly account for sources of international conflicts: historical political factors⁴, political and ideological factors⁵, and political and cultural factors⁶. However, the strategy does not cite political and economic factors⁷. Indeed all four of these factors may account for all international conflicts, even though there may be other apparent causes of conflicts⁸.

In their Practical Guide for the Negotiation and Resolution of Conflict, Johnson and Barnes define international conflict as a “situation in which two or more parties perceive that they have different goals or incompatible interest. The word **conflict** is used to describe a situation in which each party perceives that the goals, values, interests, or conduct of the other party are antithetical⁹.” The Chilean National strategy more succinctly describes international conflict as “a confrontational situation between two or more sovereign states whose important interests are threatened by the other state(s)¹⁰ “. Such situation is then regarded as crises, which may be addressed by uses of military force. As with most other nations' strategies Chile does reserve its right to respond with military force, to international conflicts in which its national interest are threatened .

The War: Resorts to military force generally mean war, which is justified by national policy and is thus a political phenomenon. War may be executed by the military, but it really reside in the domain of national leaders, who authorize and legitimize it and political philosophers, who theorize about its nature, purpose, and conduct. For this reason, Machiavello educated princes on uses of war, for they could gain advantages from using it or threatening to use it¹¹. Thus, as

Clausewitz tell us, war is an extension of the political process, used to achieve political objectives – not simply and only to destroy the enemy's army. Generically, war is an armed confrontation between two or more sovereign states intended to resolve a situation in which they perceive their vital interest are threatened¹². Indeed, warning nations may believe their very survival is threatened¹³.

The International Crisis: According to the International Military and Defense Encyclopedia¹⁴, "A conflict among nation-states enters a phase of crisis when a notable and previously unexpected expansion of hostile interaction an/or its spillover to other parties suddenly becomes possible, lightly probable, or imminent". Crises are not, however, sustainable. If they "spill over", they probably lead quickly to armed conflict. If somehow "the waters are calmed", then they may diminish to further negotiation, some kind of reconciliation, or a hasty retreat by one party. Even during this most critical stage of international relations, crises can be maneuvered.

Many time, crisis develop out of seemingly innocuous "incidents". The United State National Defense University acknowledges the volatility of incidents: They may appear as "threatening to the state, its territories, citizens and possessions of interest¹⁵". In response to an incident, national leaders may consider using political, diplomatic, or even military power to remove the perceived threat. Such responses, of course, may precipitate a crisis. So incidents may escalate into crisis. As they do, international tensions increase. During this escalation, actions of the involved parties are easily misinterpreted. Subsequent actions may grow increasingly hostile, and the likelihood of armed conflict may increase perilously. During this tense process, it is difficult to determine with certainty which party is truly the aggressor¹⁶. It is an over simplification to identify the first party to use military power as the aggressor. It is better to gain a greater understanding of the process in order to learn how to avoid crises on to defuse them when they develop.

The Chilean national strategy addresses this complex process in its mention of "situation of international tension", Such tension arises when an incident "jeopardizes important interest of two or more sovereign states" in a situation that has the potential of "climbing to a greater conflict. ¹⁷" The strategy then cites the option of "deployment of military forces and even their restricted use, according to the situation." But they can also be maneuvered in another less extreme direction.

Maneuvered Crises: Nations with conflicting interest can maneuver crises in several ways, both through unilateral and bilateral initiatives. First, they may compare their national

strategic in order to identify conflicting interests and then begin to resolve them in order to avoid a crisis altogether. Likewise, they can assess their national objectives to determine whether either nation is threatened by the other's objectives. If so, they can consider modifications of objectives that are perceived as threaten, or otherwise persuade the threatened party of the lack on intent to threaten that party. Further, they can agree not to resort the military actions to resolve any conflicts, there by eliminating the military option. Likewise, they can commit to reversing escalation of conflicts, thereby agreeing to cooperate on solution rather than hardening their confliction, positions, thereby making compromise less likely. All of these crisis maneuvered strategies must be enacted through negotiations, which must be carried out in the good faith that all parties are committed to keeping conflicts, especially crisis, from spilling over to warfare.

Characteristics of a Crisis the International: According to the data presented previously, in a crisis the following characteristic and elements are distinguished¹⁸.

- Limitation of the Objectives
- Limitation of the violence
- Reversibility
- Opportunity at the gestation
- Negotiation

The Chilean Defense Policy and Organizations

To define a framework for analyzing the Defense Policy, is necessary to know the most important characteristic and ideas about them, and which considers the following:

Chile Focus: The Book of the National Defense of Chile provides the guideline and overview of the national defense policy. It specifies a national vision and the role and missions of the Chilean Armed Forces.

Chile's Defense Policy is formulated in line with the following general principles¹⁹:

- a) The Chilean State does not hold any aggressive intentions towards any country in the world; neither has it had territorial claims in the neighboring context.
- b) The Chilean State has the will to protect its population, to defend its national interests, and to safeguard its political independence, its national sovereignty and its territorial integrity.
- c) The Chilean State has the responsibility to maintain an adequate military capability to assist in the achievement of its national objectives, bearing in mind that the

development of that military capability is proportional to the development of the country's other capabilities.

- d)** The Chilean State has the responsibility to use all its national capabilities and, particularly its military power, for the Defense of the country and the protection of the national interests in the face of foreign threats, if it is necessary.
- e)** The Chilean State should encourage civil society's commitment to National Defense. Chilean citizens are subject to of compulsory Military Service, the meeting of the needs of national mobilization and the need to maintain the competence and capabilities of reserve personnel.
- f)** For the Chilean State –as for all states in general–, its relative geographical location is a significant factor in the formulation of its Defense Policy.
- g)** The Chilean Defense Policy conforms with the institutional legal framework currently in force in Chile recognizes and respects the treaties and international agreements incorporated in this framework. Chile's Defense Policy legitimately represents the political commitment that, on one hand, binds the State to the nation's citizens and, on the other, incorporates the state into the international community.
- h)** The Chilean State considers as particularly important and advisable the existence of a close relationship and coordination between its Defense and its Foreign Policy, so that they complement and reinforce each other, although the former will act in support of the latter.
- i)** The Chilean State shall uphold its commitment to contribute to the defense and promotion of international peace, in accordance with national interests.

Overall, Chile's defense policy seeks to provide for coordinated management of a global approach to reduce or eliminate the nation's vulnerabilities. This approach is most evident in Chile's coordinated foreign and defense policies. Internally, Chile depends on its development policies, its judicial system, and its law enforcement agencies to maintain public order and provide stability.

The Global Political-Strategic Assessment²⁰ (AGPE)

The rule that formalizes the Global Political-Strategic Assessment (AGPE) as a pattern for the basic analysis of National Defense, dates back to 1950, a time when the State perceived the need for a method by which its political authorities could relate the national situation to the world, continental, regional and neighboring scenarios during a future period. In order to achieve this, Chile adopted a method of analysis that was used to visualize potential scenarios within the

political or strategic contexts and to indicate the possible effects of State decisions on international actors that were the targets of those decisions.

The AGPE constitutes the central element of the Political-Strategic Planning System that includes, among others, the National War Plan and the Plan of National Mobilization. Because it is a link between Defense Policy and the goals and priorities of the public agenda, the AGPE consists of an ongoing, systematic and prospective analysis of national objectives (current and permanent).

The Chilean Defense Policy has some elements that are its support; the following are some of the more significant of these elements²¹:

National Objectives: It has been pointed out that Chile's national objectives excluded territorial claims on its neighbors' territory and emphasized our country's definite vocation for peace. Along these lines, Chile supports its national objectives through a Defense Policy whose purpose is to safeguard national interests through a defensive attitude, although it would not be inconsistent to opt for deterrence mode in the political-strategic context.

International Context: The international context has been characterized as complex, with a globalization process currently under way that is not, however, eradicating national diversity nor implying a uniformity of positions and objectives among states. Therefore, the nation-State continues to be the central –although not the only– unit of international order.

Chile believes that it is necessary to preserve national identity and that the relative geographical location occupied by each State in conjunction with its national interests shall continue to be a significant point of reference for the respective Defense policies.

World and Regional Stability: Peace has been appraised as an element of vital importance and Chile's willingness to participate in peacekeeping operations sponsored under the United Nations Charter has been clearly stated, considering that the maintenance and promotion of world peace are among the objectives of its Defense Policy. We have also established the value of the integration process promoted since the early 1990s, emphasizing the promotion of trust among states as the political basis of these processes. Although we pointed out that Mutual Confidence Measures were not an additional mechanism of Defense, we have duly noted the importance that Chile attributes to the promotion of confidence within this sphere. We have highly commended the expansion of democracy in the continent and defined arms control as a mechanism that helped to reduce the potential for conflicts, thus facilitating regional stability.

Defense and Security: With respect to the relation between Defense and security, in addition to defining the different areas encompassed by these state functions, we have affirmed

that it is not ethically justifiable to ensure a country's security by trampling on the enduring values of justice and human dignity.

The Nature of Threats in Chile:

Chile is certainly not at the epicenter of globalizations. Yet Chile is affected by the dynamics of globalization. As a matter of fact, the region's evolution has been turning around the dynamic created by globalization and regional development. This dynamic has had both positive and negative effects in the continent where governments and societies are looking for suitable policies to optimize their insertion in the process²².

Chile's nation security policy seeks, first and foremost to identify threats to the nations. A threat is a real or perceived action consciously or unconsciously perpetrated by a potential adversary with the intention and capability to negatively affect the nation's interests and welfare²³..

Conventional Threats: Without doubt, the new world order and the trends of solving problems based on a concept of "democratic peace"²⁴ have generated a common approach to a peaceful solution of controversies between states in the region. The region has seen a trend towards the decrease of conflicts between states. Nevertheless, it would be too premature to maintain that inter-state conflicts have disappeared at all.

In Chile's view, the conventional threats are those situations related to territorial or sovereignty inter-state problems. In this sense it can be said that, despite the fact that Chile has a very close relationship with Argentina and that it has been managing this relationship based on cooperation and integration, it cannot be denied that besides the potential threat materialized by a fluent interaction between the two countries²⁵ Chile has also a territorial dispute because of ill defined parts of the border with Argentina, that could lead to a traditional aspiration of that country over either Chilean territory (South Ice Fields) or ocean.

The loss of territory that both Peru and Bolivia had after the Pacific War (1879-1883) are still present in the perceptions, feelings and even the military policy of both countries²⁶.

Non-Conventional Threats: Some threats do not originate from interstate relations. Rather these non-conventional threats emanate from non-state actors, transnational terrorism and hostile social ethnic, religious, or racial movements. The Chilean Government reserves the right and accepts the obligation to identify such threats. Further, the Chilean government is committed to international cooperation to counter such threats²⁷. Finally, the Chilean military is trained, organized, and equipped to counter both traditional and non-conventional threats²⁸.

The Chilean Defense policy and the perception of Threats:

Having already defined a framework for the theoretical approach toward a National Defense Policy, there is a need to evaluate how the current Chilean National Defense Policy is facing the new challenging.

The 2002 policy considers the vision of the state over the defense matters where the Ministry of National Defense is the leader of the process that try to evaluate the regional and global security situation by incorporating all the different elements that shape the global, regional and particular situation of the current strategic scenario.

Regarding to threats, the National Defense Policy addresses these menaces as the most important situation` related to National Defense matters. On the State's perspective, even though threats have a major role in defining the Defense planning, they do not cover the entire spectrum of situations that a modern concept of Defense must have. That is the reason why the policy also addresses issues that are not dominated by the concept of threats, **like cooperation and international commitment towards cooperative behaviors**. The policy also enhances the importance of detecting the opportunities to perform activities to ensure peace²⁹.

According to the statement of the Book of National Defense, this policy was also conceived bearing in mind the diverse nature of a more complex international security agenda. This new scenario mixes the traditional elements of international conflict with elements that have new dimensions and ranges, given the changes that have occurred since the end of the Cold War.

Not only these new phenomena have forced to do not consider threats as elements isolated from the other components of the national interest, but also to open spaces for these emergent threats. Additionally, the policy also covers the concepts of “**prevention**” and “**reaction**”. In this matter, the policy states the need for developing public policies in order to prevent or face any situation that could be detected. Accordingly, the State must organize and develop a public policy for each kind of threat to be faced³⁰. In its analysis, the global trends towards cooperation and integration suggest the need for an increasing participation of Defense in this role, where the Armed Forces are a key element. However, this must not deviate the accomplishment and execution of the constitutional role that the State has assigned them³¹.

Structure and organizations System Defense of Chile

The Superior institutions of defense Under Chile's system of presidential government, the highest Defense institution is subordinate to the President of the Republic. Other bodies that perform varied duties according to the laws of our country are the National Congress, the

National Security Council, and the Superior Council of National Security. As a whole, these State institutions and agencies that act at the highest level of conducting the defense constitute what is known as the superior structure of the Defense (see figure 1)³².



Figure 1.

The Ministry of National Defense is formed by the Offices of the Undersecretaries of War, of the Navy, of the Air Force, of the Police Force (Carabineros de Chile), of the Investigations Police, and the National Defense General Staff (EMDN). (see figure 2)³³

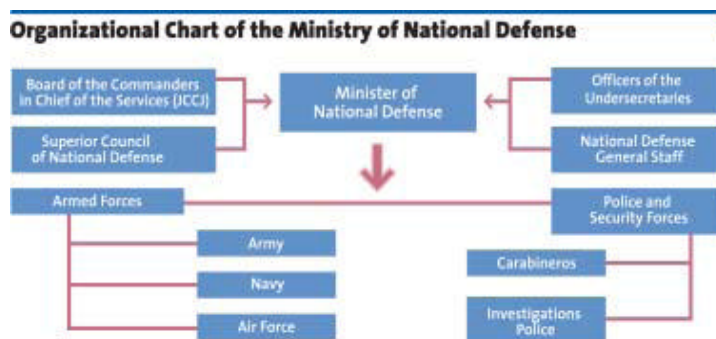


Figure 2.

The institutions of the Armed Forces (Army, Navy and Air Force) and those of Public Order and Security (Carabineros and Investigations Police) are under the Ministry of National Defense.

In addition to advising the Minister of Defense, the Board of the Commanders in Chief of the Services (JCCJ) also has some specific duties, such as, reviewing and proposing military policy and measures related to national defense involving the Armed Forces, and reviewing and evaluating their needs; Proposing solutions to all problems related to military strategy and its development in wartime; Issuing instructions and provisions for the strategic conduct of the

Armed Forces, deriving from the primary (national) and secondary (strategic) planning; Proposing the establishment of joint commands or forces where required by National Security.

In peace and in war, each member of the Board, each Commander in Chief, is responsible for enacting decisions related to their respective roles and services.

Employment of Military Forces: A New Strategy

Security begins at home. Domestic turbulence and weakness invite external interference, even aggression. Chilean security therefore begins with national unity, social solidarity, a sound economy, and political stability – all supported by an efficient, disciplined Armed Forces, Chile thereby acknowledges its military as an instrument of national power that contributes to domestic tranquility and deters external threats.

Chile's Armed Forces seek to preserve peace by remaining prepared for war: *si vis pacem pro bellum*. This policy resides on three principles: 1) Chile's Armed Forces are trained, equipped, and dispersed to inflict significant casualties on a potential adversary. 2) Chile's military capabilities are credible and demonstrable, for deterrence of threats requires a verifiable response. 3) Chile's government and people have the national will the use military force, if is necessary³⁴.

Chile's policy of deterrence conforms with its current treaties and meshes with the national strategies of other countries in the region. However, the current strategic environment is anything but static, so no strategy should remain fixed or be regarded as permanent. A recent article published by Department of history and Military Strategy of Chile's Army Military Academy "Armies of Knowledge-Based Societies", properly advocates the importance of preparing our Armed Forces to remain effective in a volatile, uncertain, complex, and ambiguous environment. Accordingly, Chile is embarking on a new military strategy³⁵:

1. Modularity: to operate more flexibly, Chile's armed forces will be organized into smaller units, some with narrow specialties. These forces can then be readily tailored into task forces to carry out many kinds of missions. Redundancies in capabilities and specialties will be reduced or eliminated. The new force will be lighter, more mobile, and highly flexible.

2. War-fighting capabilities: These newly formed and trained units will use both direct and indirect precision fire. Specialized ammunitions will be directed at the adversary's soldiers, headquarters, armaments, and information system. These units will be capable of acting independently, relying on inherent command and control systems operating from surface and space platforms. Soldiers will be deployed with lighter equipment and better protecting gear.

3. Planning and applications of military force: Military force will be used only as a last resort. However, it should also be used quickly, perhaps surprisingly, and as means of preventing more wide spread and devastating armed conflict. Military planning, therefore, will provide for quick military reactions to situations that may develop in remote areas. Such situations will be diverse in nature, unpredictable regarding time and place and complexity. Detailed planning for responses to them cannot take place far in advance. So planners must train to take full advantage of the flexibility, mobility, and modularity of the force. Further, the force must be dispersed and positioned to facilitate responses to the more likely situations.

4. Maneuver: Contemporary and future military engagement will be characterized by quick reactions, precise strikes, and decisive actions. Traditional maneuver warfare, long engagements, and enormous logistical support are no longer relevant in the current strategy environment.

5. Support of military operations: anticipated operations will be short and focused. They will be planned to minimize collateral damage and to avoid displacement of large populations. They can be supported by out-sourcing needed services and supplies to contracted agencies. It would be inefficient to maintain military logistics units to support such operations.

Force Projection

Quick military reactions often require moving the appropriate forces rapidly over considerable distances. The U.S. military has abandoned its strategy of forward-presence and now uses a policy of projecting home-based forces to places where they are needed to protect U.S. interests. However, recent U.S. operations reveal that these forces cannot be projected as rapidly as they should be to accomplish their missions quickly and effectively. Their responses have been slowed by lack of transport, massive military equipment (including tanks), and such diplomatic issues as permissions for over flight or transport through other countries. Without questions, the quality of U.S. forces is superior; however, the quantity of U.S. forces required for some of the missions prevent rapid projection of U.S. forces³⁶.

Therefore, Chile should endeavor to create the quality of force that can be quickly projected to resolve incipient conflicts in a short time with minimal costs³⁷. Military expenditures must be proportional with costs of all other governmental programs.

The quality of Chile's Armed Forces will enable it to be projected quickly to where it may be needed³⁸, to function interoperable with those who join with it, and to contribute to multinational efforts to stabilize a region

Peace Operations

Chile's Armed Forces will be trained and equipped to conduct peace operations. International relations are increasingly integrated, systematized, and interrelated. Correspondingly, national militaries are dedicating more training and effort to operations other than war. Such operation requires projection of forces to distant, remote areas. Further, in peace operations the military often cooperates with representatives of diplomatic, political, communications, and economic realms. So effective peace-keeping calls upon a range of skills beyond punchy military capabilities. Chile's armed Forces will be trained to conduct effective peace operations.

Response to a International Crisis

Chile is not prepared to engage in an armed global conflict. Chile's military capabilities are designed to defend the nation and, if is necessary, engage in a regional conflict to protect the nation's interests. Chile maintain a small professional army that can be expanded through conscription.

However, Chile has made a global commitment to peace operations sanctioned by international organizations, particularly the United Nations. For example, Chile has made significant contributions to peace operations in Haiti: Three Army infantry companies and one helicopter unit; two Air Force transport squads; two Marines companies. This peacekeeping task force was formed by the Army and deployed within 48 hours, Chile also contributes reconstruction, humanitarian, economic, political, and communications support to peace operations.

Conclusions

- Globalization affects the sovereignty of nation states, creating more interdependence and wider acknowledgment of differing interest; however, nation- states remain the principal actors in the global environment. None the less, multi-national corporation are increasingly influential in global affairs. Overall, globalization has produced a new spectrum of risk, threats, and challenges.

Nations are increasing inclined to integrate their economies and national interest into the global framework. Their search for mutual benefits and greater international cooperation in indeed impacting their sovereignty. Regional cooperation, shared national interest, and mutual benefits are now regarded as acceptable trade-off for diminished sovereignty.

Chile recognizes that certain risks and threats may accompany its efforts to be a significant player in the global community. Accordingly, Chile reserves its right to define threats to its sovereignty and to devise its own ways and means of countering these threats.

- Chile remains more focused on regional stability than on global issues. Chile respects the impacts its mayor decisions may have on its neighbors and makes no claim to total freedom of action. However, Chile maintains sufficient military capabilities to defend the nation and protect its national interest. Chile is committed to using peaceful methods to resolve conflicts; therefore, Chile will resort to the use of its military force only in extreme situations and will limit its use of such force in proportion to the situation.
- Chile recognizes both conventional and non-conventional threats. A long-standing issue persists in a current conventional threat: Chile reject the Bolivian claim to a sovereign waterway to the Pacific Ocean through Chilean territory. On the other hand, Chile's non-conventional threats are not precisely defined, yet they may be real. For example, Bolivia could resort to non-conventional ways to pursue its claim. Chile's National Security Policy should be revised to address more specifically the non-conventional threats may lead to inappropriate reactions, or they may be undetected.
- Chile's transformed lighter and more agile military will rely on force projection to respond quickly and to serve as a credible deterrent. It will also serve as a less lethal and less expensive alternative to general, traditional war as an instrument of national power. It is designed to offer a qualitative instrument, rather than quantitative victories. It must be a credible force; otherwise, it will not effectively deter potential aggression. It must be readily expandable in the event that its quick, decisive actions prove insufficient. Both its capability to act independently as a small, appropriately failled task force and its capability of expanding but linking with other modular unit and by integrating conscripted personal contribute to its flex ability.
- Chile's military should be capable of joining with other national authentic to respond quickly to domestic crises. Likewise, it should be capable of joining the forces of the other nations to respond to international crises. It should be well-prepared to conduct

jointly operations other than war- to contribute to diplomatic efforts, to peacemaking to nation-building , to reconstruction, and to communications and informational operations.

To accomplish this, the Ministry of Defense, through the Combined Headquarters of the Armed Forces, must coordinate with the services heads(Army, Navy, Air Force), to create a joint force under a new command, perhaps a North Joint Command. Soldiers in this command would be trained first to conduct military operations, then to conduct peace operations. They would serve as a standing force to serve in the entire spectrum of international operations.

- The Combined Response Force (FCDI) would provide a mobile, self-standing, rapidly deployable brigade. Its professional, highly trained personnel should be selected from the Army and Air Force for aerial transport and pilots; the Army and the Navy's Marines for land forces; the support forces of Engineers, Artillery, Logistics, and Administration; and the Navy for transport and fire from sea support. This unit should train together continuously. It should deploy anywhere within 48 hours and should be instantly operable in the area of operations, instantly using its air, sea, and land resources to maximum capability. Such a force would serve as a credible deterrent as well an effective project force.
- Finally, the Ministry of National Defense must constantly integrate defense and military issues into the larger affairs of state. The MDN. (SECDEF) must coordinate with Ministries of Economic, Foreign Relations, interior, Health, Transportation, and labor in order to assure that the nation's military effectively support national policy. All efforts should contribute to Chile's growth as a strong and vibrant democracy, committed to peace, ably defended.

Endnotes

¹ Coser, Lewis A., "*Las Funciones del Conflicto Social*", (México-Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1961) p. 174

² Fraga Iribarne, Manuel. "*Guerra y Conflicto Social*", (Madrid: Colección Ensayos Políticos, 1962), p. 3

³ Ibid.

⁴ Present examples of this cause are in the warlike conflicts as a result of the birth of new States, from processes of disintegration, disintegration or collapse of the political structures in which a town was, voluntary or forced, immersed

⁵ The Cold War, conflict of ideological nature and with global reaches, is the most characteristic exponent

⁶ In last the two decades of century XX and beginnings of century XXI, the recurrent sources of international tensions have been the height of the Islamic fundamentalism - like process of opposition to the western modernization -, immigration towards the developed countries, the consequent popular xenophobia, the international terrorism, Mafias, the drug trafficking and the depredation of the environment.

⁷ Reasons of this Hindu to him explain the great interest of the United States, and the coalition formed to his around, on the events derived from the invasion of Kuwait on the part of Iraq, when affecting to one of the greater petroleum reserves of the world.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Bradford, Johnson P. and Barnes, Catherine, "Practical Guide for the Resolution and Negotiation of Conflicts" (Institute of World-wide Subjects, 1996), p. 16

¹⁰ Ministry of National defense, "Book...", Op. Cit., p. 214

¹¹ Maquiavelo, Nicholas, "The Prince", (Santiago: Ed. Colicheuque, 1993) p. 46

¹² Army of Chile, MAGE V.A.I "Basic Concepts On the War and the Strategy", (Santiago: Academy military, 2000) p. 19

¹³ Ministry of National Defense, "Book of the National Defense of Chile", Op. Cit., p. 36

¹⁴ Dupuy, Trevor S., "International Military and Defense Encyclopedia", (Washington-New York: Brassey's [US] Inc., 1993), p. 676.

¹⁵ National university of Defense, "Guide of the Joint Staff officer", (Virginia, General Staff department of the army academy of the Armed Forces, 1993), p. 7-6

¹⁶ A case in that this situation can be appreciated is in the third War Hindu-Pakistani. In her India caused a reaction armed of Pakistan as a result of the support that provided the independent groups of Eastern Pakistan (present Bangladesh). India won in that war, fulfilled its objective to protect its Eastern flank when snatching these territories to Pakistan and, before the eyes of the world, it appeared like attacked country.

¹⁷ Ministry of National defense, "Book of the National Defense of Chile", Op. Cit., p. 214

¹⁸ Navy of Chile "Project of Manual of Conduction of Crisis of the National defense". (Valparaiso: Naval academy military, 1995), p. 96

¹⁹ Book of the National Defense of Chile, 3. Framework, page 79.

²⁰ Ibid, 80.

²¹ Ibid, 83.

²² Ministry of National Defense of Chile, Ibid.

²³ Ministry of the National Defense of Chile, 1st ed., 210.

²⁴ Ministry of National Defense of Chile, 2nd ed., 48.

²⁵ This concept is based on the Julian Freund's theory that says that the more relationships the more possibilities of differences or controversies may arise among the actors.

²⁶ Col. Rodolfo Ortega and Col. Mauricio Pontillo, *The effects of Integration and Globalization Processes in National Security and Defense*, (Santiago: Chilean Army Studies and Research Center, 1998), 13

²⁷ Military Studies and Research Center, "Chile in the Region". CESIM 2001; available from <<http://www.cesim.cl/pags/biblio/index.html>>; Internet; accessed 30 January 2004.

²⁸ Ministry of National Defense of Chile, "Book..." 2nd ed, 63.

²⁹ Ministry of National Defense. 2nd ed., 62.

³⁰ Ibid., 65.

³¹ Ibid., 66

³² Ibid. 70

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Paúl Latorre, Adolfo, "Política y Fuerzas Armadas. Características y misiones constitucionales de las FF.AA." (Valparaíso: Revista de Marina, 1999) p. 82

³⁵ Department of Military History and Strategy, "the Armies in the Society of the Knowledge", Notebook of Diffusion N° 1, Year 1 (Santiago: ACAGUE, 1998), pp. 60-63

³⁶ Eshel, David, *"The U.S. Rapid Deployment Forces"*. (New York: ARCO Publishing, Inc., 1985) p. 55

³⁷ Farías G., Luis (May.), "the Projection of the Force: Conceptualization and application to the light of the Geostrategic Constants of Chile ", Memory to choose to the title of Professor Military of Academy, ACAGUE, 1999, p. 95

³⁸ Garcia Covarrubias, Jaime Doctor in Political Sciences and Sociology, "the military modernization, the future of the defense in Chile".

